

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 /026 W

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R 301119Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4610

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 WARSAW 3207

EXDIS

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PL, US

SUBJECT: ICCS - POLISH PARTICIPATION; MEETING WITH  
GIEREK

REF: STATE 126486; STATE 126477; STATE 126476; STATE  
126325

1. I WAS INFORMED YESTERDAY THAT THE APPOINTMENT WITH  
FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK WAS SET FOR 10:00 A.M. LOCAL  
TIME JUNE 30. WE MET FOR HALF AN HOUR IN HIS OFFICE  
AT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE BUILDING. HENRYK SOKALSKI OF  
THE MFA WAS PRESENT AS INTERPRETER.

2. I GAVE GIEREK THE ORIGINAL OF THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER  
OF JUNE 20, TOGETHER WITH AN INFORMAL TRANSLATION INTO  
POLISH, PREPARED BY THE EMBASSY. WHEN HE HAD FINISHED  
READING THE TRANSLATION, I SAID THAT, WITH REFERENCE TO  
POLISH PARTICIPATION IN THE ICCS, DEALT WITH IN THE  
PENULTIMATE PARAGRAPH OF THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER, I WAS  
INSTRUCTED TO SAY THE FOLLOWING.

BEGIN QUOTE.

3. (A) THE NEGOTIATIONS RECENTLY CONCLUDED IN PARIS  
BETWEEN DR. KISSINGER AND MINISTER LD DUC THO HAVE  
RENEWED AND STRENGTHENED THE OBLIGATION OF ALL THE PARTIES  
INVOLVED TO CARRY OUT THE JANUARY ACCORDS ON VIET-NAM. (B)  
THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO FIND THAT THE  
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PRIMARY CONCERN OF THE POLISH AND HUNGARIAN DELEGATIONS

TO THE ICCS IS TO DEFEND THE INTERESTS OF THE CCOMMUNIST SIDE IN VIET-NAM. (C) WE SHOULD LIKE TO SEE AN EARLY CHANGEIN THE ATTITUDE OF THESE DELEGATIONS, WHICH HAS RESULTED IN BLOCKING THE PLENARY SESSIONS OF THE ICCS AND THEREBY DELAYING THE REPORTING PROCESS. (D) THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT A FOUR-PARTY ICCS WHOULD MORE EFFECTIVELY ENSURE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE JANUARY ACCORDS THAN WOULD A TWO-PARTY ICCS. THE UNITED STATEES IS MAKING EVERY EFFORT TO FIND A REPLACEMENTFOR CANDDA ON THE ICCS. (E) WHILE THE QUESTION OF FUTURE POLISH MEMBERSHIP OF THE ICCS IS ONE THAT ONLY THE POLISH AUTHORITIES CAN RESOLVE, THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT THE CONTINUATION OF POLISH PARTICIPATION IN THE ICCS, IF CARRIED OUT WITH IMPARTIALITY AND DEDICATED EFFORT, WOULD BEST SERVE THE INTERESTS OF PEACE. (F) THE ICCS CONTINUES TO HAVE A VITAL ROLE, WHICH CAN BE SUCCESSFUL ONLY IF THE OPERATIONS OF THE ICCS AND THE ATTITUDES OF ITS MEMBER DELEGATIONS ARE OBJECTIVE AND IMPARTIAL. END QUOTE.

4. I SAID I HOPED THE FIRST SECRETARY WOULD GIVE HIS PERSONAL ATTENTION TO THIS MATTER AND THAT WE WOULD SEE CHANGES IN THE ATTITUDES OF THE POLISH DELGATION TO THE ICCS WHICH WOULD ENABLE THAT BODY TO FULFILL EFFECTIVELY THE ROLE ENVISAGED FOR IT.

5. READING FROM NOTES, GIEREK MADE THE FOLLOWING RESPONSE.

6. HE WARMLY AGREED WITH THE REMARKS IN THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER ON THE IMPROVEMENT IN POLISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS SINCE THE PRESIDENT'S WARSAW VISIT. "WE HAVE INDEED ACHIEVED A GREATDEAL." HE WAS ENCOURAGED BY THE PRESIDENT'S REMARKS ON THE PROSPECT FOR THE CONTINUATION OF MEANINGFUL PROGRESS IN OUR RELATIONS IN THE MONTHS AHEAD, NOT ONLY IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS BUT ALSO IN THE INTERNATIONAL SPHERE. " PLEASE INFORM THE PRESIDENT OF OUR SATISFACTION WITH THE FAVORABLE DEVELOPMENT OF US-POLISH BILATERAL RELATIONS AND EXPRESS TO HIM MY SINCERE PERSONAL CONGRATULATIONS ON THE RESULTS OF THE VISIT OF GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV TO THE UNITED STATES". HE RECALLED HIS CONVERSATION WITH THE PRESIDENT

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DURING THEIR WARSAW DISCUSSIONS ON THE DESIRABILITY OF FORWARD MOVEMENT BY BOTH THE SOVIET AND U.S. GOERNMENTS TOWARD RAPPROCHEMENT AND THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT OF HIS READINESS TO SUPPORT SUCH A MOVEMENT. HE WAS VERY HAPPY WITH DEVELOPMENT IN THIS FIELD AND BELIEVED THAT ENTERING INTO AN ERA OF DETENTE BY MEANS OF DIRECT CONVERSATIONS AND BILATERAL AGREEMENTS, SUCH AS HAD TAKEN PLACE BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE GENERAL SEC-

RETARY, WOULD BE BENEFICIAL TO ALL MANKIND. IT WAS HIS IMPRESSION THAT US-POLISH RELATIONS HAD EVERY POSSIBILITY OF BECOMING EVEN MORE DIVERSIFIED AND FRUITFUL IN THIS NEW CLIMATE.

7. WITH REGARD TO HIS COUNTRYMEN AND THEIR DEVOTION TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE, HE WISHED TO NOTE THAT, WHEREEVER THE CAUSE OF PEACE, HUMAN DIGNITY, AND INDEPENDENCE HAD BEEN THREATENED, POLES HAD BEEN PRESENT AND HAD EARNED THE GRATITUDE OF THOSE WHO WERE THREATENED. HE WISHED TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE PARTICIPATION,HAD ALWAYS CONSISTED IN EARNING GRATITUDE THROUGH DEEDS. GUIDED BY THIS DESIRE FOR PEACE, AND UNDISCOURAGED BY THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH THEY KNOW WOULD ARISE, POLAND HAD AGREED TO MEET THE DESIRES OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, AS WELL AS OF NORTH VIET-NAM AND THE PRG, AND PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF THE ICCS, ACCEPTING THIS DIFFICULT TASK BECAUSE IN CONTITUTED A POSSIBILITY OF HELPING TO ESTABLISH PEACE.

8. IN HIS LETTER, GIEREK SAID, THE PRESIDENT REFERS TO POLISH PARTICIPATION IN THE ICCS. WITH CONSIDERABLE EMPHASIS, GIEREK SAID: "OUR PARTICIPATION HAS ONLY ONE GOAL: TO HELP TO REALIZE THE JAUNARY AGREEMENT ON PEACE IN VIET-NAM". WHILE THIS IS NOT AN EASY GOAL TO ATTAIN UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS, THE POLES HOPED THAT THE PARISAGREEMENTS WOULD BE SUCCESSFUL -- ALTHOUGH ONLY PRACTISE WOULD SHOW HETHER THIS WOULD SO SO -- AND WOULD RESULT IN AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE SITUATION IN VIET-NAM AND IN THE CHANCES FOR ESTABLISHING PEACE.

9. HOWEVER, THE POLISH DELEGATION'S ACTIVITIES IN THE ICCS ARE THE OBJECT OF DISSATISFACTION IN THE PARTY FO BOTH SIDES IN VIET-NAM. CONSUEQUENTLY, THE POLES HAVE CONFIDENTIAL

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ALREADY INFORMED THE DRV AND THE PRG OF THE FACT THAT THEY ARE CONSIDERING WITHDRAWAL FROM THE ICCS. THIS CONSIDERATION RESTS IN PART ON THE FACT THAT NEXT YEAR WOULD CONSITUTE THE TWENTIETH YEAR OF POLISH PARTICIPATION IN THE VIET-NAM COMMISSIONS AND, AS I KNEW, POLAND WAS STILL A MEMBER OF THE COMMISSIONS IN KOREA AND LAOS, AS WELL. PERHAPS IT WAS TIME FOR SOME OTHER COUNTRY TO TAKE OVER THESE HEAVY RESPONSIBILITIES.

10. THE POLES HAD BEEN VERY CONSISTENT,GIEREK CONTINUED, IN NOT LINKING THEIR PART IN THE EFFORT TO RE-ESTABLISH PEACE IN VIET-NAM WITH BILATERAL US-POLISH RELATIONS. IF THEY HAD MADE SUCH A LINK, IT WAS ONLY ALONG THE LINE THAT THE FAVORABLE DEVELOPMENT OF US-POLISH BILATERAL RELATIONS ARGUED IN FAVOR OF POLISH PARTICIPATION IN THE ICCS.

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R 301119Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4611

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 WARSAW 3207

EXDIS

11. FINALLY, GIEREK SAID, HE WISHED BY THIS MEANS TO EXTEND TO THE PRESIDENT EVERY GOOD WISH FOR HEALTH AND SUCCESS IN EVERY WAY. IN PARTICULAR, POLAND, ITS PEOPLE, AND HE HIMSELF ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WHICH THE PRESIDENT AND HE HAD BEEN ABLE TO CARRY ON, BOTH IN THEIR MEETINGS IN WARSAW AND THROUGH THE SUBSEQUENT CORRESPONDENCE. HE WISHED TO ASSURE THE PRESIDENT THAT HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES WOULD GIVE VERY CAREFUL ATTENTION TO THE VIEWS THE PRESIDENT HAD SET FOR THIS IN HIS LETTER OF JUNE 20.

12. I SAID I WOULD TRANSMIT THIS MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDENT AND WAS PERSONALLY GRATIFIED AT THE FIRST SECRETARY'S READINESS TO GIVE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO THE VIEWS CONTAINED IN THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER. I HOPED THAT THAT CONSIDERATION TOGETHER WITH THAT GIVEN TO THE REMARKS I HAD MADE IN PRESENTING THE LETTER, WOULD RESULT IN THE KIND OF POSITIVE PERFORMANCES BY THE POLISH DELEGATION TO THE ICCS TO WHICH THE PRESIDENT REFERRED.

13. I TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THE VISIT TO GIVE THE FIRST SECRETARY ONE OF BRONZE MEDALLIONS STRUCK BY THE HAYDEN PLANETARIUM TO HONOR THE 500TH ANNIVERSARY OF COPERNICUS.

14. AS I LEFT GIEREK'S OFFICE, AN ASSISTANT ASKED ME IF THEY COULD INFORM THE PRESS SIMPLY THAT I HAD BEEN RECEIVED BY THE FIRST SECRETARY IN ORDER TO DELIVER A

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LETTER FROM PRESIDENT NIXON. I AGREED.

15. COMMENT: (A) GIEREK'S PRESENTATION WAS NON-  
POLEMICAL AND LOW-KEY, RISING TO A MEASURED EMPHASIS WHEN  
HE TALKED ABOUT THE SOLE GOAL OF POLISH PARTICIPATION  
(BEGINNING OF PARAGRAPH 8). (B) I BELIEVE MY INITIAL  
APPOINTMENT (FOR JUNE 28) WAS POSTPONED IN ORDER TO  
ALLOW TIME FOR CONSIDERATION OF THE PENULTIMATE PARTGRAPH  
OF THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER AND OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY  
STOESSEL'S JUNE 27 PRESENTATION TO AMBASSADOR TRAMPCZYNSKI  
AND THE DRAFTING OF A CONSIDERED REPLY, WHICH RESULTED  
IN THE STATEMENT GIEREK READ TO ME. END COMMENT.

16. SINCE GIEREK'S STATEMENT CONSITUTES A REPLY TO  
THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER, I HAVE NOT REPEATED IT TO OTHER  
ADDRESSESS INTERESTED IN OCCS DEVELOPMENTS.  
DAVIES

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